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# PAGĀN.



BY CAPT C. M. ENRIQUEZ,  
*21st Panjabls.*

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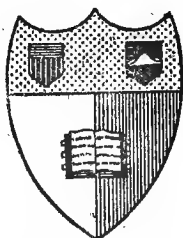
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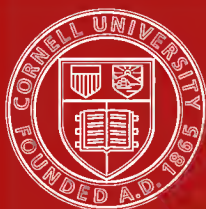
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**Pagan :being the first connected account**



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# PAGĀN.

Being the first connected account in English of  
the 11th Century Capital of Burma,  
with the History of a few of its  
most important Pagodas.

BY

C. M. ENRIQUEZ, CAPTAIN,  
21ST PUNJABIS,  
(THEOPHILUS.)

AUTHOR OF

THE PATHAN BORDERLAND, THE REALM OF THE  
GODS, ETC.



Rangoon :

PRINTED AT THE HANTHAWADDY PRESS.

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1914.

TO THE MEMORY OF

SHIN ARAHAN<sup>1</sup>

APOSTLE OF BUDDHISM TO UPPER BURMA IN 1057 A. D.,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

TREATED WITH NEH FUNDS

FILMED

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<sup>1</sup> See page 12 and 13.



## INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

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I AM indebted to M. Duroiselle, of the Archæological Department, for the greater part of the information regarding Pagān, contained in these pages. He has also done me the kindness of personally correcting and revising my work, which I therefore believe contains few serious errors. M. Duroiselle himself intends soon to publish a complete and scientific account of the ruins in a popular form. Not only the tourist, but most residents too of long standing in Burma, have, I am sure, felt the need for information as they wandered aimlessly amidst this labyrinth of pagodas, whose very antiquity is a veil, drawn apparently for ever, across their past history. Fortunately, that history is not really lost. But it is not yet easily accessible to the public. The legends and traditions which, when judiciously pieced together, go to make comprehensive history, are at present locked away in the brains of a few men, who have drawn them with infinite labour from unpromising looking inscriptions which have been found, here and there, on slabs and pillars, amongst the ruins. Until M. Duroiselle's much needed work is complete, and there must necessarily be delay in its production, I am in hopes that this present account of Pagān, slight and incomplete though it is, may have its uses.

C. M. ENRIQUEZ, CAPTAIN.

PAKOKKU,  
UPPER BURMA,  
25th Nov. 1913.

21st *Punjabis*,  
(THEOPHILUS)

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## A NOTE FOR TOURISTS.

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Ferry boats call daily at Pagān (Fridays excepted). Mail boats, which ply up and down the river twice a week, do not touch actually at Pagān, but at Nyaung-U, which is 5 miles distant from the bungalow. Post and Telegraph Offices are at Nyaung-U. There is a good bungalow at Pagān; and the khansamah can supply meals.

An index has been especially inserted in this book for the use of tourists.

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## SCHEME FOR SIGHT SEEING.

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### FIRST DAY.

MORNING.—(En route from Nyaung-U to the Bungalow)  
Shwezigôn : Tilo Minlo : U Pali Thein.

AFTERNOON.—Gaw-da-palin : Ananda (easy walk from bungalow). Museum.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours.

### SECOND DAY.

MORNING.—(Out along south road) Minglazedì : Nan Paya : Manuha : Nāga Yon : Petleik. The Petleik is about 4 miles from the bungalow. If you go only as far as the Nāga Yon, the expedition is much shorter. Ponies necessary. 2 to 3 hours.

AFTERNOON.—Thatbyin Nyu : Shwe-gu-gyi : Bidagat (Library) : Nat Hlaung Kyaung : Pato-tha-mya : Mi Malaung Kyaung : (A walking expedition. Ponies not necessary).  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours.

### THIRD DAY.

MORNING.—Shwe San Daw Paya : Damayan Gyi : Sulamuni : and Ananda again. Ponies necessary.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours.

AFTERNOON.—Mahā Bodi : Bu Paya : and any you may care to re-visit. Best to have ponies, but not really necessary.



## PAGĀN.

Anawrata, Kyanzittha, <sup>1</sup> Burma's pride,  
Great Kings were they, who ruled in ancient days ;  
Who made Pagān, and spread its frontiers wide  
To distant China, and to the Malays.

They built great shrines, which still are beautiful,  
Gathering the arts of Ind and far Nepaul.  
Artists they sought from China and Thaton,  
Moulders of plaques, and painters on the wall.

Spires of gold, mounted on high Shikhāras,<sup>2</sup>  
Raising to Heaven a crown of many bells,  
Gates from Cambodia, Indian Shrines, viharas.  
The best in every style, Pagān excels.

Pato-tha-mya, " Mother of many a son " :—<sup>3</sup>  
Gaw-da-palin, Gla-zedi and Ananda ;  
All these belong to different schools, each one  
A gem divine, are architectural wonder.

Long ages dead, those proud, vain kings, who raised  
*Payās*\* of graceful poise, and shining bright with gold ;  
Far famed, and though the East their beauty praised,  
While Marco Polo in the West their riches told.

\* \* \* \*

Who has not heard of the fabulous reigns,  
Now spoken of still in tradition and lore,  
Of the Kings of Pagān, who built temples and fanes,  
And conquered their neighbours in strenuous war ?

Long dead are those kings, and decaying their shrines,  
Which proudly they raised to honour the Budh.  
But still, here and there, an Ananda still shines  
As beautiful yet, as when first it was made.

1. Pronounced respectively A-na-ra-ta and Chanzittha.

2. The pointed Indian dome is called ' Shikhāra.'

3. See page 10. The Pato-tha-mya is believed to have been the first pagoda built at Pagān. The name means " many son one ", and suggests that it is mother of all the rest.

\* Payā means pagoda.

Dim now are those glories. The Law is fulfilled.  
“ Anicca ” (all die), and “ Anatta ” (all pass)<sup>1</sup>  
To destruction, to ruin. All vanity killed.  
The Buddha has taught us that nothing can last.

In the hearts of the Buddhas the people of old  
Placed jewels, to witness their pious oaths sworn.  
For ages, thieves seeking this treasure and gold,  
The hearts from the breasts of the Buddhas have torn.

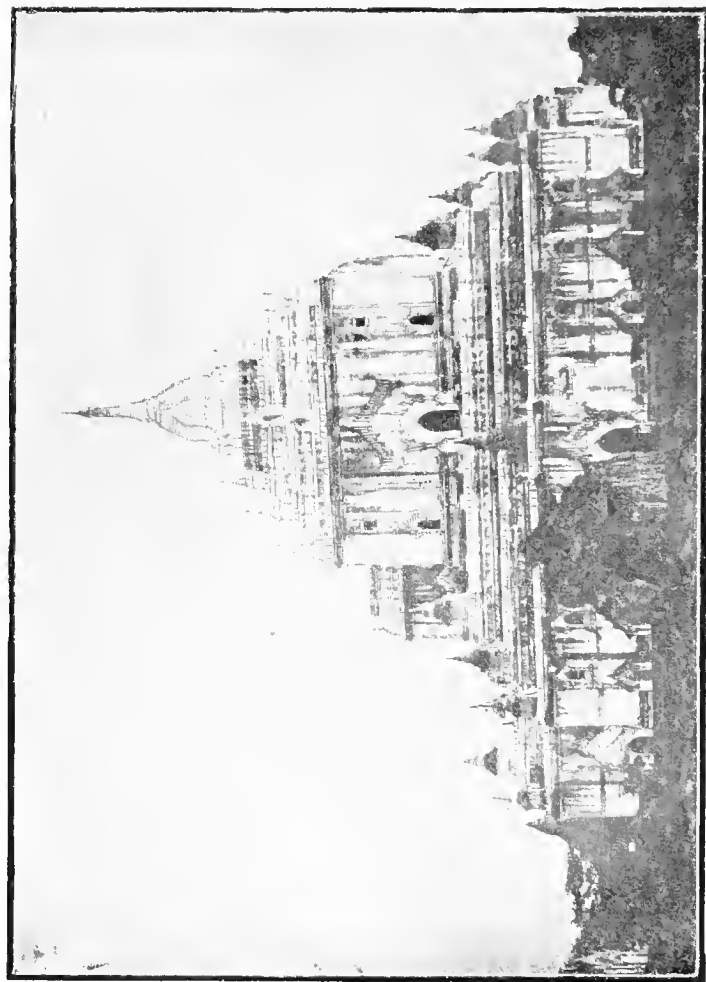
Even so have all nations perverted the Truth,  
Stealing its lustre for Gods of their own.  
But the gilding has faded, revealing their worth :  
The Law of the Buddha still glitters alone.

Crumbling and frail are the things of this Earth  
The wheel in revolving brings ruin and rust.  
The power of princes and men has no worth.  
Alone in the Law, should humanity trust.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist formula runs :—A-nicca (you must die): Dukkha (you will not be free from pain) :—A-natta (there is nothing permanent).





THE THATBYIN NYU PAGODA (THE OMNISCIENT.)



# PAGĀN.

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THE prevailing impression left on the mind after visiting Pagān is one of astonishment, that so much human energy should have been devoted to a cause so futile. Nor is this true only of Pagān. Think of the Buddhist statuary and architecture of ancient Gandhāra,<sup>1</sup> the miles of useless prayer walls and *chortens* of Tibet, the costly Buddhist monuments of China and Japan, and the countless pagodas of Burma, whose number is being daily added to. All these monuments represent the misdirected piety of generations. The out-put of useless buildings is still enormous in all Buddhist countries. Such works cannot even claim the merit of developing the arts, for the original models of Gandhāra, the prototypes so far as Buddha figures go, of all Buddha figures throughout Asia, have been slavishly copied for two thousand years. Yet, admitting all this as true of the ancient Burmese city of Pagān, the beauty of those innumerable pagodas, their antiquity, their simple majesty, commands our admiration. You cannot help sympathizing with the motive which, in all but a few selfish cases, actuated the founders—a desire to honour the Master, and to go on repeating such works of merit, till fresh generations were ready to carry them on.

Pagān, the ancient capital of Burma, is of special interest, because of the introduction into its architecture of **foreign elements**. It was the resort of men from all parts of Asia. A stone inscription (translated by Mr. Taw Sein Ko) tells us that the

---

1 N. W. Indian Frontier.

bay near the Lawkananda pagoda was visited by the ships of many nations. There were at least five different foreign countries whose influence is strongly represented. These may be conveniently arranged as follows :—

- a. Nepaulese influence*, or to speak more accurately Nepaulese-Chinese influence. How, or why, it came to Pagān, is a matter for speculation. But it is undoubtedly present, and is to be recognised in those monuments which have many roofs, rising pagoda-wise, one above the other. The horizontal lines are not quite straight, but are curved slightly upwards at the ends. Examples are the **Mi Malaung Kyaung**, **Bidagat Taik**, an old monastery at the gate of the Ananda, and the red brick buildings in the Court of the Shwezigon.
- b. Chinese influence.* Different opinions are held as to the amount of Chinese influence in Pagān (see page 35), but it is probable that there is less than some people like to suppose. The chief source of inspiration was India and not China. By the time the Chinese conquest of Burma in 1284 A. D., was completed, Pagān was already tottering to its ruin. Bits of Chinese bronze, porcelaine and pottery are found in the soil from time to time.
- c. Cingalese influence.* There are a few pagodas in Pagān built like those

of Ceylon. The distinctive mark is a square platform, (called the *amrita kalasa*), above the main mass of the pagoda. From this again, rises the *shikāra*. Example, the **Sāpada** pagoda near the Shwezigon. Also a pagoda quite close to the Bu Paya. (see fig. 10 on page 5).

*d.* **Northern Indian influence.** This is stronger than any other, and is responsible for the pointed, Hindu shaped domes, called *shikāras*, which are so plentiful in Pagān. The prototypes are of course the temples of Orissa. Some of the finest pagodas belong to this class, such as the **Gaw-da-palin**, the **Thatbyin-nyu**, the **Ananda**, and the **Maha-Bodi**. The Maha Bodi pagoda at Pagān is by no means an imposing building, but it is interesting as being one of the only two existing copies (the other is in Nepaul) of the temple at Buddha Gāya. It is an exact replica, but on a smaller scale.

*e.* **Pure Talaing.** All the rounded, or bell-like pagodas, owe their shape to Talaing influence. The **Shwe-zigon** and the **Mingala-zedi** are examples.

The rounded **Talaing pagoda** is of course derived from the ancient hemispherical *stupa*<sup>1</sup> of ancient

---

1. Mr. Taw Sein Ko traces the round Pagoda to the Chinese tower, but that is not the opinion generally accepted by Archæologists. See page 35.

India<sup>1</sup>. It is quite easy to trace the **development** of the pagoda step by step down the ages. Fig. 1 on the opposite page illustrates the original hemispherical Indian stupa. Fig. 2, dates from 269 to 232 B. C., the Asoka period, and shows the hemisphere placed on a square base. Fig. 3 shows the addition of the 'hti' or crown, consisting of 7 or 9 round slabs of stone, mounted one above the other on a pole, and about a foot above each other. The rings round the upper part of the modern pagoda are derived from this 'hti'. Fig. 4 shows the hemisphere mounted on two or three bases. Fig. 5 is the elongated hemisphere dating from the 4th century A. D. This is a picture of the Bodogyi, at Prome. These elongated pagodas at Prome are considered the link between the Stupa of India and the pagoda of Burma. Fig. 6 The bulbous. Still archaic. 7th cent. A. D. This is the Bu Paya at Pagān. Fig. 7. The squat dome, dating from the 11th century A. D. This is the Shwe-zigon at Pagān. Fig. 8. The bell shaped pagoda, being an elongated and more graceful development of the 'squat'. This is the Shwe Dagōn at Rangoon. 15th century. Fig. 9. is a still more elongated style, belonging to the 18th and 19th centuries. This is a modern pagoda near the landing stage at Nyaung-U.

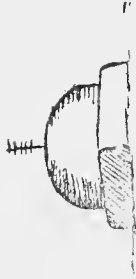
There are traces of Hinduism in Pagān, and this is hardly surprising when we realise how intimate the communication with India must have been. The **Nat Halaung Kyaung** was at first believed to be dedicated to Nat worship, but an inscription has since been found which proves it to be a Hindu temple, built by a merchant of Southern India for the use

Fig. 1.



Ancient hemispherical  
Indian Stupa.

Fig. 3.



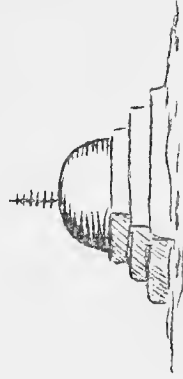
Stupa on base, with hti  
or crown.

Fig. 2.



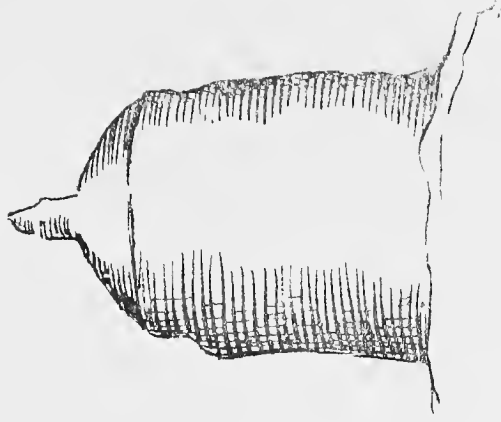
Stupa on a single base. Asoka  
period 250 B. C.

Fig. 4.



Stupa on two or more base, with  
hti or crown.

Fig. 5.



Bodogyi, Prome. Type of elongated hemisphere  
This is the link between the Indian Stupa  
and the Burmese-Talaing pagoda.  
4th Cent. A. D.

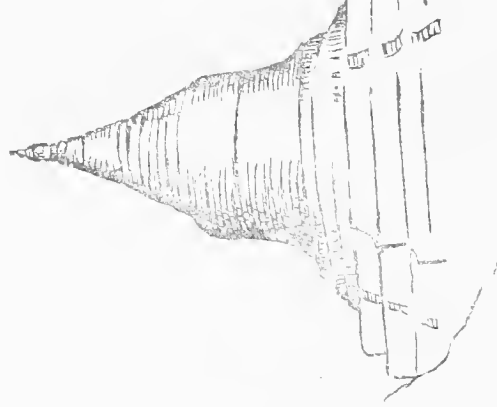
#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAGODA.

Fig. 6.



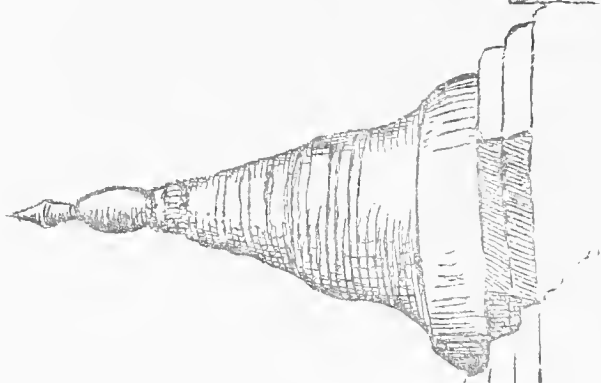
"The bulbous," Bu Paya, Pagán. Still archaic, 7th Cent. A. D.

Fig. 7.



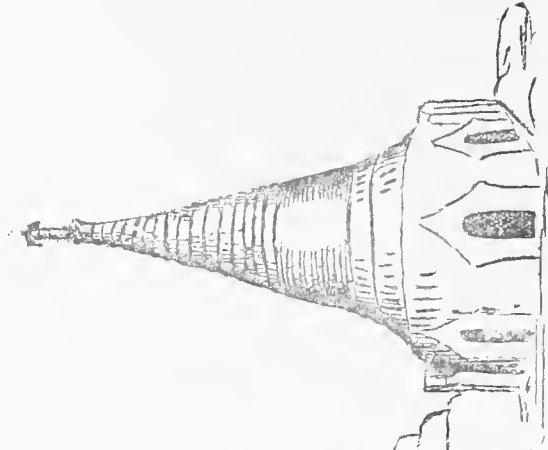
"The Squat" Shwezigon, Pagán, 11th Cent. A. D.

Fig. 8.



"The Bell Shaped," Shwe Dagon, Rangoon 15th Cent. A. D.

Fig. 9.

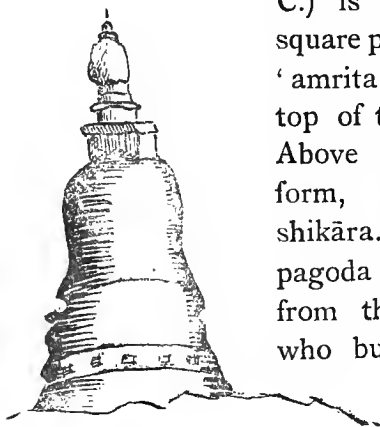


A Modern Pagoda, Pagán, 18th and 19th Cent. A. D.

of his fellow Vishnuvites. An image of Vishnu, riding his vehicle, the Garuda,<sup>1</sup> is carved inside. There are niches outside, in which it is supposed that images of the ten Avatars, or incarnations of Vishnu, were placed. There are two images of Siva in the Shwe-zigon.

The Sapada Pagoda, near the Shwe-zigon is a good instance of Cingalese influence in Pagān.

Fig 10.



Square platform distinctive of Cingalese pagodas.

Sapada—a Cingalese Pagoda.

(PAGĀN. End 12th Cent.)

This influence (as mentioned above on page 2. C.) is recognised by a square platform, called the 'amrita kalasa', on the top of the round dome.<sup>2</sup> Above the square platform, rises the final shikāra. The S ā p a d a pagoda derives its name from the priest Sāpada who built it, and who was so called on account of his big toes being from birth split in two, so that he had

six toes (*char*, pali six: and *pada*, footed). He lived at the end of the 12th century, and went to

1. The Garuda is a Demi-God, half man, half bird. It is the special vehicle of Vishnu.

2. In Indian topes, relics are buried at the base of the building; but in the Cingalese pagoda they are placed high up in the rectangular base (the real dhātu-gabbha) under the pinnacle—Burma Research Society. Journal, June 1912. Vol. II, page 74.

Ceylon to study Buddhism. On his return he built this pagoda on the Cingalese plan. The king wished to raise Sāpada to the highest priestly rank, but was prevented from doing so by the Buddhist rule forbidding the promotion of any priest with a bodily deformity.

The **Gaw-da-palin** is one of the finest pagodas in Pagān. It rises like a great Cathedral on the bank of the Irrawaddy. Its weather-worn plaster, grey here and black there, gives it a restful appearance of antiquity. It is of course Northern Indian in type, but Burmese style has asserted itself strongly in the details; and the combination of the two is very pleasing. The straight, pointed saw-teeth flames of the '**flamboyant gātes**' are Burmese, as distinct from the more curved and flame-like sort, which are Cambodian. It will be observed from the illustrations that in the Gaw-da-palin, and also in the Thatbyin-nyu, two cubes rise one above the other, with the shikhara, or dome, placed over them. The upper and smaller cube, is entirely a Burmese idea. It is not found in the prototypes of Orissa. Again, the arches on the face of the building, and the half-arches of the inner corridors are worthy of notice. The full arch of this type is found only in the architecture of ancient Persia and Chinese Turkestan; but the half arch (fig. 11) of the corridors inside the Ananda and Gaw-da-palin is essentially Burmese.

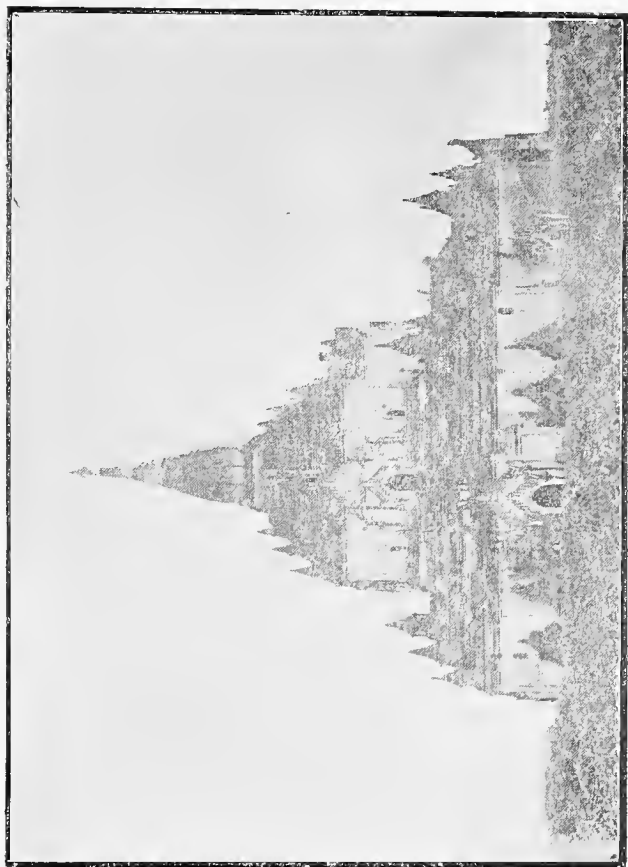
Fig. 11.



The half-arched corridors inside the Ananda.

A peculiarity of the big Pagān pagodas is that they are not solid throughout, like most Burmese





THE GAW-DA-PALIN. BUILT BY KING NARAPATI-ZI-HU, 12TH CENTURY.



pagodas. They have lofty, circumambulatory corridors running round them, inside. On each of the four faces of the building there is a large entrance, with a Buddha figure facing it. In such cases as the Gaw-da-palin and the Thatbyin-nyu, there is another colossal Buddha in the upper story, seated in a big hall. These great Buddhas are now old and ruined, and sadly desecrated by treasure hunters. But in spite of this, they are still beautiful, and are affectionately decorated by pilgrims with patches of gold leaf. The Gaw-da-palin Paya is about 750 years old. It was built by King **Narabadi-zithu**. I should perhaps explain that the word '**Paya**,' means 'lord.' It is a title given to pagodas, monks and Buddha images; and has been assumed by several Burmese Kings. Now-a-days it is in more general use, being applied even to masters by their servants. The Burmese word '**payā**' is the same as the Siamese '**pra**.'

M. Duroiselle of the Archæological Department is of opinion that most of the monuments of Pagān are not anterior to the 11th century. According to the credited Burmese histories, Pagān was founded in 850 A. D., but it is thought that the pagoda-building craze did not begin until 1057 A.D. Some authorities believe that the **Bu Paya** is seventeen hundred years old. Its bulbous shape is certainly archaic, but the Bu Payā is probably a copy of older pagodas in Prome. <sup>1</sup>

**Prome** flourished very early in the Christian era, and was a place of importance in the 2nd century A. D. Its elongated pagodas (fig 5,) as mentioned above, are considered an intermediate link

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See figure 6.

between the stupas of ancient India, (fig 1) and the squat Burmese pagodas of the 11th century, such as the Shwe-zigon (fig. 7).

The history of Pagan is almost hopelessly mixed up with legend. But certain characters stand out clearly. Pagan was at the height of its prosperity during four reigns, namely those of **Anawrata**<sup>1</sup> (A. D. 1044), **Sawlu** (A. D. 1077), **Kyanzittha**<sup>2</sup> (A. D. 1084) and **Alaungsithu** (A. D., 1112). According to Phayre, this last king had repairs carried out at the temple at **Buddha Gaya** in India.<sup>3</sup>

The dates given above are those considered correct by the present Government Archaeologist, M. Duroiselle, and are probably exact. There are, however, other chronological lists of the Pagan dynasty published in the Burma Research Society's Journal, which are worth quoting. The discrepancies, though considered important by careful students, are not serious so far as the reading Public is concerned.

Journal June 1911, Vol. 1, page 83. (Authority, Grant Brown.)

## THE PAGAN DYNASTY.

Anawrata (1010) to Kyawzwa (1279) A.D.

Anawrata	-	-	-	-	1010 A.D.
Saw Lu	-	-	-	-	1052 „
Kyanzittha					1057 „
Alaungsithu		-	-	-	1085 „

1. Pronounced A-na-rata.

2. Pronounced ' Chanzittha.'

3. Phayre's " History of Burma " page 40.

## THE PAGAN DYNASTY—continued.

Min-shinzaw - - - -	1160 A.D.
Narathu (Kāla-kya-min) -	1160 „
Minyin Narathunka -	1164 „
Nayabadizethu - -	1167 „
Zeyatheinga - - -	1204 „
Kyawzwa	1227 „
Uzana	1243 „
Narathihapadi (Tarokpyemin)	1248 „
Kyawzwa -	1279 „

Maung May Oung, writing a chronology in the Burma Research Society's Journal of June 1912, Vol. 2, page 16—21, gives the following dates with reference to Pagān.

Present Pagān founded -	849 A.D.
Anawrata ascended - -	1017 „
Conquest of Thaton -	1057 „
Invasion by Kublai Khan	1284 „
Last Independent King of Pagān (Kyawzwa) -	1286 „
Final Dismemberment of Pagān Empire, and destruction of ruling line by the “Shan Brothers”	1298 „
Saw-mun-nit, last (tributary) King of Pagān -	1327 „

**Anawrata** was the Napoleon of Burma. He ruled probably from 1044 to 1077, and before he died had carried the Burmese frontier far down South into the Malay Peninsula, and far up north to the borders of China ; and also towards India and Assam. When he came to the throne he found Hindu settlements in Prome and Rangoon, whose growing strength was a menace to Pagān. The Talaing kingdom, with its capital at **Thaton**, was then

famous throughout Asia. Anawrata determined to crush these rivals before it was too late. In one magnificent and unexpected march, he swept down from Pagān, destroyed Prome, and captured the Talaing King, **Manuha**, in his capital of Thaton. This occurred in A. D., 1,057—perhaps as important a date in Burmese history, as 1,066 is in our own. It marked the rise of a civilization. The Burmese carried back King Manuha to Pagān, and with him all the architects, artists, painters and sculptors of Thaton they could find. Consequently, this **Talaing expedition** has made a deep impression on the arts of Burma, particularly at Pagān; for the Talaings brought with them **influence** which they themselves had received from India. As Rome conquered Greece physically, but was itself conquered morally, so the Burmese conquered the Talaings, but became students of their arts. The **first pagodas** to be built at Pagān were the **Pato-tha-mya**, **Shwe-zigon**, **Thatbyin-nyu**, (The Omniscient), and the **Lawka-nanda**. But the Pato-tha-mya is thought to have been the very first. Its name means ‘Many son one,’ suggesting that it is mother of all the rest. The Burmese also brought back with them from Thaton a great mass of **Buddhist scriptures**, the acquisition of which was one of the nominal excuses for the war. The manuscripts were all placed in the **Bidagat Taik** (or Library).

King **Manuha** occupied his captivity by building the **Manuha Paya**, which contains colossal sitting and reclining images. He also built the **Nan Paya**. The Nan Paya contains some of the finest stone

carvings in Pagān. The three faced images (a fourth face is supposed to be behind) of **Brahma** on the pillars, illustrate very well how strong the **Indian influence** was amongst the Talaings. This pagoda was once ruthlessly restored by a Babu in the Public Works Department, but he, and his enormities, have since been removed.

Anawrata soon became afraid of his royal prisoner. He summoned Manuha to the **Shwezi-gon Pagoda**, and during a ceremony, suddenly poured water over his hands, thus dedicating him a slave to the pagoda. The unfortunate King thereby became a slave and an outcast and was thus robbed of his social influence. However, we know that his grandson married a Burmese princess.

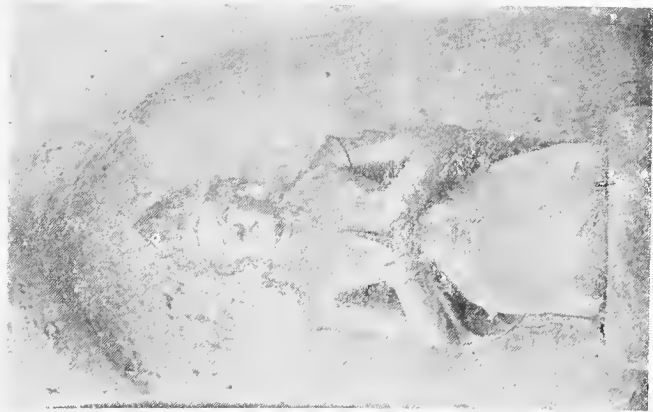
**Consecration by water** dates from very ancient times. Long before its adoption by St. John and Christ, we hear of water being poured out on the ground, when certain gardens were being dedicated to the use of the Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

**Sawlu**, who succeeded Anawrata, was a nonentity. His story is short but tragic. He had a quarrel one day with **Gneh-man**, the Governor of the Southern province, because the latter exulted too freely at beating the King at dice. Gneh-man went south in a rage, collected a Talaing army, and marched on Pagān. He took up a strong position flanked by marshes, some miles below the city. **Prince Kyanzittha** (the future hero and king) was sent out to meet him, but wisely declined to attack

such a position. King Sawlu accused him of cowardice, and went out himself. His army was hopelessly bogged and defeated, and he himself captured. Later on, Kyanzittha tried to rescue him. But Sawlu, fearing to fall into Kyanzittha's hands, gave the alarm, and was himself killed. Kyanzittha was now King. He hurried back to Pagān, secured the regalia in the Shwe-zigon, assumed kingship, and later on drew Gneh-man from his marshes, and defeated him.

Anawrata was a conqueror. **Kyanzittha** was a consolidator. It would be difficult to say which of the two did most for Burma. Kyanzittha becomes particularly familiar, because there is a striking statue of him in the Ananda Paya. Opposite him is a statue of **Shin Araham**, the apostle who introduced **Hinayana Buddhism** (The Buddhism of the Lesser Vehicle) into Upper Burma just before 1057. Both these statues are unique, being the only known examples of **portrait statuary** in Burma. They are entirely free from convention, and are probably good likenesses of Kyanzittha and Shin Araham. Kyanzittha has the strong determined face of a masterful King. Shin Araham has the sweet, quiet expression of a Buddhist Saint. There is reason to believe that **Mahayana Buddhism**, (The Great Vehicle) existed in Burma until the advent of Shin Araham. It must have come direct from India, because the ancestors of the Burmese drifted south from their ancient Tibetan home, long before Tibet embraced Buddhism. It would, I think, be an interesting and a profitable study to try and find traces of the Tibetan Bön or devil worship in the Nat cult of the





KYANZITHA—KING OF PAGAN,  
A. D. 1084.



SHIN ARAHAN—APOSTLE OF BUDDHISM  
TO UPPER BURMA, A. D. 1057  
(Produced for the first time.)

These statues from the Ananda Pagoda are believed to be the only examples of portrait statuary in Burma.



Burmese. There is a collection of 33 Nats in a shrine near the Shwezigôn.<sup>1</sup>

**Shin Araham** was a Talaing, and came from Thaton to Pagān to preach Buddhism a little before 1057 A. D., when King Anawrata was reaching the height of his power. The Burmese were still almost savages, a condition from which Shin Araham's Buddhist teaching, and the civilizing results of the Thaton expedition of 1057, were shortly to deliver them. Just then there was widespread discontent against the immoral practises of the **Ari**, who were the priests of the existing nat and animistic worship. The Ari claimed the right of violating all brides, not excluding even royal princesses. Shin Araham was treated with great respect in Pagān, and his story is told here and there in the stone inscriptions. He apparently lived well on into the reign of Kyanzittha, for an inscription in the **Shwezigon** Pagoda describes how he and Kyanzittha went in procession from the Shwezigôn to dedicate the Ananda, which was building from 1086 to 1090. This was the period—just after the Norman Conquest—that the frenzy to build, build, build, was at its height at Pagān; a frenzy which originated in the new born Buddhist zeal, and in the large ideas about art and architecture which had been brought back from the sack of Thaton, together with Thaton's best artists and her captive king (Manuha.)

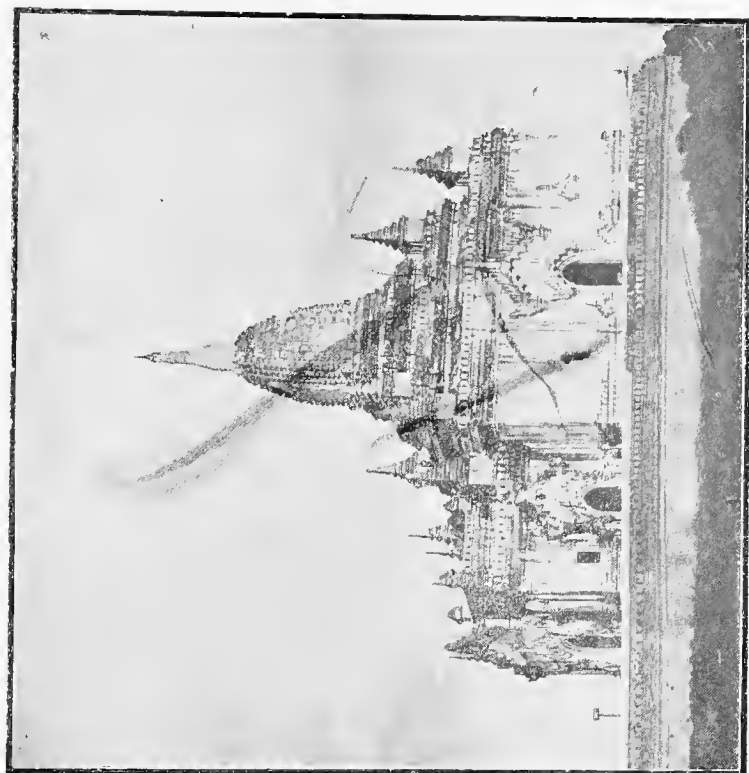
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1. There are believed to be 37 Nats altogether, who according to some legends are said to have lived at one time on Mt. Popa. The Nats were objects of worship in pre-Buddhist times. Offerings are still made to them in Burma. They are generally the spirits of people who have died violent deaths.

Strong, straight-spoken, **Kyanzittha** was in disgrace during both the reigns which preceded his own. Legend says that in King Sawlu's time he was a fugitive in the outskirts of Pagān. His wife used to bring him food ; and one day found a huge cobra standing erect over him with its hood outspread. It did not harm him ; and later they regarded it as a happy omen, and built a pagoda on that spot, called the **Naga Yon Paya**, or the " Pagoda of the curled snake." It is still in good preservation. A many headed cobra spreads its hood over an image of the Buddha.

Kyanzittha's grandson was the celebrated King **Alaungsithu** who reigned at Pagān for 75 years and built the **Shwe-gu-gyi**. By his orders too the temple at Buddha Gaya was repaired. He was eventually murdered by his second son **Narathu** in the **Shwe-gu-gyi** pagoda. **Narathu** then succeeded, having also murdered his elder brother **Meng Shengsoa**, and his father's widow. To counter balance all this evil, he started to build the **Damayangyi** pagoda. But vengeance followed him. The father of **Alaungsithu's** murdered widow, the King of **Palikkara**, sent eight assassins who first slew **Narathu** in his palace, and then all committed suicide.

Pagān is known to have been occupied by a **Chinese** army in 1284 A. D. It was again invaded in 1295 and 1298. In 1298 **Kyawzwa**, the reigning King of Pagān, was deposed, and the country taken over by three **Shan** princes. The first invasion of 1284 is mentioned in both **Chinese** and **Burmese** histories, and also by **Marco Polo**. The



SHWE-GU GYI PAGODA. BUILT BY KING ALAUNGSIHHU, 12TH CENTURY.



only point in which these several accounts disagree is with regard to the site of the decisive battle. This, the Chinese say was fought at Yung Chang (the Vochan of Marco Polo) four days march east of Teng Yueh in Yunnan; <sup>1</sup> while the Burmese maintain that it took place at Nga ts'aung-gyan and Male. No doubt Pagān suffered considerably by these wars, though the monuments were probably not damaged much by the Chinese, who were themselves ardent Buddhists in the days of Kublai Khan. But the Burmese themselves pulled down a large number of pagodas to build fortifications against the Chinese advance.<sup>2</sup>

Pagān was re-occupied again by its inhabitants after the last Chinese invasion, but six years later it was **finally abandoned** in about 1304 A. D. From that day, historians trace the gradual, but steady, decline of the Burmese Empire, until its fortunes reached ebb tide at the time of the British annexation. When the **Mingalazedi Paya** was being built a legend became current concerning it, to the effect that as soon as it was finished, Pagān would be destroyed. Its founder, **King Tayok-pye-Min** abandoned it on this account. Later on his priests preached the 'law of impermanence,' showing that according to the teaching of Buddha, Pagān like everything else was doomed to destruction sooner or later, in any case. So he was induced to finish his work of merit. Soon after the completion of the Mingalazedi, the Chinese army came, and Pagān

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1. Marco Polo Chapter XLII.

2. Tradition says 600 pagodas were demolished to furnish material for the defences against the Chinese army.

was ruined. This King's real name was Narathiha-pade, but he is better known as Tayok-pye-Min, or Talok-pye-Min, the "King who fled from the Chinese." After his defeat he was made to take poison.<sup>1</sup>

There are still supposed to be five thousand pagodas in Pagān. As already mentioned, many are known to have been demolished to provide brick for a hurriedly built fortification against the Chinese. Many more must have crumbled to bits by themselves. The very soil of Pagān is made of brick, and the natives have a saying that the cows have to feed on brick dust.

There were several curious customs connected with **pagoda building** in Pagān. For every ten thousand **bricks** used in the pagoda, one brick was set aside for the construction of a '**Kayo paya**, or small model, near by. For the last fraction of ten thousand bricks used, half, or a quarter of a brick was put aside for the '**Kayo paya**.' The '**Kayo paya**' was, in a way, more difficult to build than the great monument itself, for the architect had not only to make it out of the bricks set aside for the purpose, but he had to use up the very last brick, and might not employ one more, or one less. It required a good deal of ingenuity to do this.

As a rule, the larger the bricks are in Pagān, the older they are. As time went on there was a tendency to make them smaller. The material for the bricks was quarried in clay soil, some 4 or 5 miles away, over the river. A bridge of boats was thrown across, and the bricks were handed from



man to man down a long line, from the place where they were made, to the place where the pagoda was building. Supposing one man a yard was allowed, and that the distance over which the bricks had to travel was 4 miles, there would be  $1,760 \times 4 = 7,040$  men required for the line. This is not really very much, if you consider what large numbers of people were made to work in order to gratify the pagoda building craze. In some cases, as in the **Mingalazedi**, the bricks are inscribed with the whole history of the pagoda. The idea is of course purely a sentimental one, since there are only one or two words on each brick, and it is not likely that any one is ever going to sort out a million or so of them and arrange them in the order in which they read.

The Burmans boast that you cannot indicate any direction in Pagān without pointing at a pagoda. Then, if you realise that all these shrines, which cover an area of ground eight miles long and two broad, were built within two hundred and fifty years, the stupendous folly of this *paya* building craze begins to dawn on you. It is the labour of merit of a nation. No doubt too the nation was unpaid, and freely cursed such works of merit from the bottom of its heart. In that short time, Pagān became the religious metropolis of Asia. Its fame spread to Tibet, Cambodia, Siam, China and India. Marco Polo, though he never saw it, mentioned what he had heard of its towers of gold ;—and indeed, that forest of golden pagoda spires must then have been a beautiful sight. Half a century before Marco Polo, Pagān had already been vividly described by a

Chinese traveller called **Chan-Tu-kua**, who spoke of its elephants and horses, and its people who wore pointed hats and who dressed in silk.

The **King's palace** was made of timber, and has therefore completely disappeared, like the rest of the dwelling houses of the city. Only religious buildings might be built of brick, but like the present palace in Mandalay, the one at Pagān had a brick plinth, the site of which is now marked by a pillar, near the Shwe-gu-gyi. The remains of the **city wall** and the moat can still be easily traced. One of the **gates** dates from 850, A.D. and is probably one of the oldest bits of masonry in Upper Burma. It is very shortly to be repaired.

The Burmese used to think that who ever occupied the palace was necessarily ruler of Burma. No doubt this belief induced the "Mad Phongyi" to make his foolish attack, with a handful of old men, on the Palace at Mandalay, in 1897. Once he had seized the Palace, the British would naturally retire from the country. This same theory resulted in the murder of King Alaung-si-thu, in the **Shwe-gu-gyi Paya** at Pagān. While lying very ill and unconscious, His Majesty was removed from his palace by order of his son, and laid in the Shwe-gu-gyi. He had thereby virtually ceased to be king. In the morning he showed signs of recovering, and asked for blankets. They gave him several, and smothered him with them.

The **Ananda Paya** is the most celebrated of all the Pagān pagodas, and is still in use as a place of worship. But it certainly lacks the grace and poise



THE ANANDA PAGODA. BUILT BY KING KYANZITHA, 11TH CENTURY.



of the Gaw-da-palin. It is painted snowy white, and shows up to great advantage against a stormy sky. A slender golden spire rises above it. There is a double row of corridors inside, and colossal gilt Buddhas are placed in niches facing the four entrances. The light is artfully let in upon the features of each image, while the rest of the body is in comparative gloom. The Ananda was built in the eleventh century by King Kyanzittha. His image, along with that of Shin Araham, is, as already mentioned, placed in the building.<sup>1</sup>

Several conflicting legends have been handed down concerning the Ananda. According to one, a child was **buried alive** under the foundations, so that its spirit might watch over the building. This form of sacrifice was not uncommon in the East, and there is even a reference to it in Jātaka number 481. Four men are said to have been buried alive under the four corner bastions of Mandalay fort. But M. Duroiselle does not believe that such a thing could have been permitted in a Buddhist shrine. To this day, however, a little patch of ground is railed off, where the distracted mother lay and rocked herself in agony. No grass is supposed to grow there, and the spot is called "Meh daw loo dè neya" or "the place where the mother rolled in agony."

There are two other legends, which, though seemingly childish, are worth recording. It is said that Kyanzittha cried so much as a child, that his father enquired the cause from his court priest, who could see back and forward over a period of seven lives. This priest remembered that the baby prince

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1. See page 13

had formerly been his dog. After the dog's death, a bamboo had grown up through its skull, which, when rocked by the wind, caused the pain which now made the child cry. When Kyanzittha grew up, he built the Ananda on the spot where the bamboo grew.

The other legend relates that the Indian prince of Patikkara fell in love with King Kyanzittha's daughter. Kyanzittha was, however, against the match, and the prince went away home. But later he heard that his princess was to be forcibly married to another man. So he took a magic stone in his mouth which enabled him to fly through the air to Pagān. But he arrived just too late. A priest (an arahat), returning from the marriage feast through the air, met the prince and told him his princess was already married. The prince in his confusion dropped the magic stone, and so, falling to earth, was killed. He fell in the enclosure of the Ananda at the spot, now railed off.

There are groups of figures in the niches all along the corridors of the Ananda Pagoda, illustrating the Buddha's life. The following description may be useful to a few people :—

List of Statuary (Ananda Pagoda) in the niches along the **outer** wall of the **outer** corridor, illustrating scenes from the Buddha's life. Beginning at the main or west gate, and tuning to the left as you enter.

#### NICHE.

- 1 Lower. Queen Māyā, about to give birth to the Buddha, being carried to her home.
- 2 „ Birth of the Buddha from the right side of Queen Māyā, under the Sal tree.
- 3 „ The new born Buddha, looking as if 16 years old, carried by Brahmas.

## NICHE.

- |   |        |       |                  |
|---|--------|-------|------------------|
| 4 | Lower. | Ditto | Carried by Gods. |
| 5 | „      | Ditto | Carried by Men.  |

## CORNER.

## NICHE.

- |    |        |   |
|----|--------|---|
| 6  | Lower. | Buddha descending to Earth from Tushita Heaven, supported by Brahma and Sakra. By mistake, Brahma is shown on the Buddha's right. His proper place is on the Buddha's left. |
| 7  | „      | Ditto.  |
| 8  | „      | Ditto.  |
| 9  | „      | First Sermon : to judge from the position of the hands. (doubtful).   |
| 10 | „      | The child Buddha held up by his father to do reverence to the ascetic Kāla Devala, puts his foot instead on the ascetic's head, to show his own superiority.                |

## GATE.

- |    |        |  |
|----|--------|--|
| 11 | Lower. | Adoration of the Buddha after birth.   |
| 12 | „      | Doubtful.  |
| 13 | Lower. | Sleeping Child Buddha under the Jambu, or Rose Apple tree, which miraculously keeps its shadow stationary to protect him.                                  |
| 14 | „      | Ditto The babe has woken, and now sits upright, wrapt in meditation adored at right and left by King Suddhodana and Queen Māyā. <sup>1</sup> Nurses below. |
| 15 | „      | Youthful Buddha in palace of five roofs.   |

## CORNER.

- |    |        |   |
|----|--------|---|
| 16 | Lower. | Youthful Buddha in palace of seven roofs. |
|----|--------|---|

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<sup>1</sup> In Burma the characters of the Life Story of Buddha, have the following names :—Prince Siddhattha (The Buddha) is called Thaidatta : Rāhula is called Yāhula ; Yāsodara is called Yā-thav-diya ; The Groom, Channa, is called Maung Zan ; Kanthaka, the horse is called Kaluda.

## CORNER.—continued.

- 17 Lower. Youthful Buddha in palace of nine roofs.  
(These numbers regulate the number of roofs in pagodas<sup>2</sup>).

## NICHE.

- 18 Lower. Youthful Buddha in his palace.  
19 „ Youthful Buddha, winning his bride Yasodharā in a contest at arms.  
20 „ The Buddha drives out with Channa and sees the old man.

## GATE.

- 21 Lower. The Buddha drives out and sees the sick man.  
22 „ The Buddha drives out and sees a funeral (the dead man).  
23 „ The Buddha drives out and sees the monk.  
24 Lower. The Buddha returned home meditating upon the Signs.  
25 „ The day before the flight. The Heavenly barber dressing Buddha's hair.

The Signs or  
Omens. 3

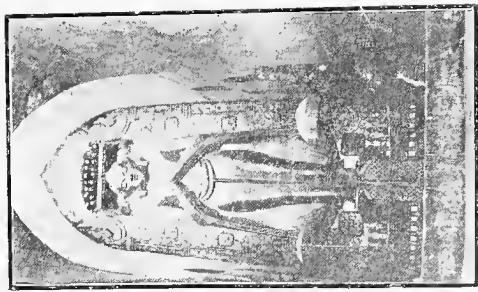
## CORNER.

- 26 Lower. Buddha drives out and sees his cousin. She says “Happy is thy father, mother and wife,” which by a play of the words he understands to mean “Happy art thou entering Nirvana”. He throws her his necklace as a reward. She then believes he has fallen in love with her.  
27 „ Buddha, returned to the palace, sleeps.  
28 „ He rises, and meditates upon the lustful attitudes of the sleeping attendants around him.

2 “The King (Suddhodana) had three mansions made, suitable for the three seasons, one nine stories high, one seven stories high, and one five stories high”—Rhys Davids “Buddhist Birth Stories”. p. 75.

3 The old man, sick man and dead man who Buddha saw as he drove, are constantly found in Pagodas, and are called in Burmese “thu o; thu nah; thu the.”





GREAT STANDING BUDDHA. LII  
FROM THE ROOF, ANANDA PAGODA.



CLAY PLAQUE. THERE ARE ABOUT 1200 OF THEM IN THE  
ANANDA PAGODA.



CORNER.—continued.

- 29 Lower. Buddha calls his Groom Channa, and orders Kanthaka his horse.  
 30 Lower. He takes his last look at his sleeping wife, and his newly born child, who he has called Rāhula, ' the fetter.'

GATE.

NICHE.

- 31 Upper. Channa, the Groom, brings Kanthāka.  
 32 „ The flight. Devas uphold Kanthāka's hoofs to deaden the sound.  
 33 „ The flight continued, illuminated by the Moon God (shown in a round circle), and jealously watched by Māra, the Tempter.  
 34 „ The flight continued.  
 35 „ The flight continued.

CORNER.

- 36 Upper. The farewell of Channa and Kanthāka to the Buddha.  
 37 „ Buddha cuts off his hair, which does not grow again, and assumes the dress of an ascetic.  
 38 Upper. }  
 39 „ } Farewell of Channa and Kanthāka.  
 40 „ }

MAIN GATE AGAIN.

Pagān is celebrated for its collections of baked clay **plaques**, which are arranged in bands round several of the larger pagodas. There are about twelve hundred of them, in four lines, round the Ananda Paya alone. They illustrate the Buddha's temptation by, and conflict with, Māra; and his final 'attainment' and glorification. Elsewhere, as at the Petleik, Mingala-zedi and Shwe zigôn the plaques illustrate the whole of the 550 **Jātakas**, or stories of previous births of the Buddha.

This collection is quite unique. M. Duroiselle is busy identifying the plaques, and it is believed that not a single Jātaka is missing. Those in which the Bodhisat appears as an animal are usually easy to identify, but those where there are only groups of men, often much defaced, are more difficult. The whole collection is being photographed, and will be shortly published. The figure of the Bodhisat, whether in human or animal guise, is usually distinguished by an umbrella; but quite often the artists have made a mistake, and put the umbrella over the wrong figure. Mention is made elsewhere<sup>1</sup> of the frequent **mistakes** which occur in the details of Buddhist statuary. Kings and ministers are given halos, which are rightly the distinguishing mark of a Buddha; the Buddha is sometimes wrongly shown dying on his left side, whereas he never lay on that side. There is an example of this in the **Maha Bodi**. Again, Buddha, as a White Elephant, is shown entering Queen Māyā's left side, whereas he entered on the right side. In one of the tablets inside the Ananda, the Queen has been laid on her couch on the wrong side, so that the White Elephant instead of descending into her side from Heaven above, has to scramble in from underneath. Such mistakes are found occasionally in India; and there is one celebrated instance in Gandhāra Statuary, in the Peshawar Museum, where, to rectify his mistake, the artist has had to turn Queen Māyā's back to the spectator.

In most parts of the World there was a marked progress towards civilization between 1050 and 1100, A. D. Pagān was then at the height of its prosperity

and was a centre of learning, art and religion. At this period the vernacular languages of the East were replacing the classic Pāli and Sanscrit, just as in Europe popular scripts were replacing Latin and Greek. There was considerable intercourse between East and West, and amongst other things the **Jātaka Stories** had been introduced from Asia into Europe. There is now a considerable literature tracing the spread of the Jātakas from one European country to another.<sup>1</sup> At the very time 1050-1100 A. D. that the five hundred and fifty Jātakas were being illustrated in the plaques of Pagān, and set up as a complete collection in the **Petleik** and **Mingalazedi**, they were being published far away in England by **Henri Beauclair**, under the title of **Aesop's Fables**.

The Jātakas are believed to be the oldest folk stories in existence. They are certainly pre-Buddhist. They were popular tales 2,500 years ago, when the Buddha gave them a moral lesson, and turned them into parables. They are popular in a sense to-day, for we still quote such Jātakas as the ass in a lion's skin, and the fox and the sour grapes. The plaques of Pagān are numbered, and their numbering is nearly identical with that of Fausböll's arrangement of the Jātakas which he obtained for a Cingalese manuscripts. As a rule, Jātaka stories are simple fables. A few are erotic, but not more so than certain Bible stories, and the moral lesson they convey is always very clear.

The plaques of Pagān have been the special victim of modern **vandalism**. The story is really distressing. In 1889 a German, assisted by four

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1.—Vide "Buddhist Birth Stories" by Rhys Davids—Part I.

trained cutters, made a scientific raid on Pagān. He successfully stripped the **Mingalazedi** of its choicest plaques. Several hundred were sent to Europe, but only 80 arrived unbroken. They are now shamelessly exhibited in the Berlin Museum. The party then attacked the plaster frescoes of the **Kubyaukgyi**,<sup>1</sup> pasting paper on the walls, sawing the plaster into squares, and packing them between boards. In this way they had taken down two thirds of the wall paintings when they heard that they were discovered. They had just time, before the authorities came, to stamp the eleventh century frescoes to bits, and scatter them about in dust. Their newspapers still hang on the walls, a monument to German vandalism.

After this, laws were passed protecting the monuments, and this enabled the next offenders to be arrested. They were Americans. Four boxes of plaques, which they had stolen, were recovered by the police in Rangoon.

Nor are foreigners the only vandals. Quite recently Pagān had to be protected against an official who thought to effect a sweeping economy by proposing to remove fifty-nine pagodas from the list of preserved buildings. These pagodas he described as 'useless,' admitting that his reason for condemning them was that he 'did not like them'. The Petleik was one of those which pleased him not—a pagoda which, by reason of its Jātaka plaques, is of intense interest and historical importance. Fortunately, his blunder was obvious. Orders were passed

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1. Also spelt Kubyaukngye.

by Government that not only should all the one hundred monuments now preserved be kept on the list, but that in future amateurs were not to recommend the removal from the protected list of buildings considered important by the Archæological Department.

A **Museum** has been built near the Ananda, to house the various articles dug up and found in Pagān. Most of the inscribed pillars and stones have been collected together there. Some of them throw a good deal of light on the history of the pagodas. One pillar has an inscription upon it in Pali, Burmese, Talaing and Pyu, and is therefore to the dead **language of Pyu**, what the Rosetta stone is to hieroglyphics. Unfortunately, the inscription is not long enough to furnish a sufficient number of letters, so that it is not of much practical value. There is at present only one man, Mr. C. O. Blagden, who has some knowledge of Pyu. If the language is ever re-discovered, it will no doubt open up a new line of investigation in Burma.

In the Museum there is an image of **Kuvera** who is the God of the North, and of Riches. His presence here is particularly interesting. Kuvera is found in the Greeco-Buddhist Statuary of Gandhāra (N. W. India), where his wife is Hariti, an ogress, who the Buddha converted into a goddess of Plenty. Her emblems are the cornucopia and an abundance of children. Kuvera is identified with the Sanscrit Vaisravana; also with fat, merry Hotei of China, who sits on his money bags, and is teased by children; and also with Bishamon of Japan.

The 'frogdrum', or war drum of some Chinese general, is kept in the Museum. Also several bits of Chinese pottery, votive bricks, and numbers of bone and pebble relics and images dug out of pagodas. There is also an image of **Mother Earth**, wringing out her hair. This has reference to the contest between Buddha and Māra on the day of the 'Enlightenment,' when Māra, having failed to tempt the Buddha, called his whole army to witness that the wisdom throne upon which Buddha sat was his, and not Buddha's. The Buddha had no witnesses, but he touched Mother Earth with his hand. The Earth at once trembled and rain fell—of which the wringing out of hair is a pretty conception. From this episode too, the **Earth touching Attitude** is also derived. It is a very common one in Pagān. The Buddha in this attitude sits cross-legged, with one hand in his lap, and the other hanging down over his right knee in front, touching the ground.

The following note on the Attitudes of Buddha figures, is given me by M. Duroiselle. All are found in Pagān, except (so far as I know) 3, 4, 5.

1. **Būhmi-Sparca Mudrā** lit. 'Earth touching attitude.' *Position* :— Seated with left hand in lap, and right hand hanging over the knee and touching the ground. Has reference to Buddha calling Mother Earth to witness when Māra (The Buddhist Satan) disputed his possession of the Bo tree.
2. **Dharmma-Cakra Mudrā** lit. 'Law turning attitude.' *Position* :— Standing or seated, holding one finger of the left hand between the first finger and thumb of the right. This is a teaching attitude, and usually has reference to the 'first sermon.'
3. **Vitarka Mudrā** lit. 'Arguing attitude.' *Position* :—Right hand in front of breast with thumb and fore finger joined. Left hand open in lap if seated, and hanging down if standing. Has reference to arguments with heretics (*i. e.* Brahmins and Jains).



4. **Abhaya Mudrā.** lit. 'Fear-not attitude.' *Position* :—Standing with right hand level with right shoulder, palm to front. Left hand hanging at the side, palm to front. This is the attitude of giving comfort—equivalent to Christ's 'Fear not, come unto Me.'
  5. **Vara Mudrā.** lit. 'Gift Attitude.' *Position* :—Standing, with right hand hanging down, palm to front. Left hand holding robes either at the breast or down at the side. The Buddha is here bestowing spiritual gifts.
  6. **Dhyāna Mudrā.** lit. 'Meditation Attitude.' *Position* :—Seated, legs crossed. Hands in lap and open, with the right hand above the left. Palms upward.
- NOTE** :—The celebrated Dai Buts of Kamakura in Japan has the hands in the lap with the thumbs and fore fingers joined in the form of a figure of eight. It is an Amida, who is a Dhyāni Boddhi-sattva, and this position, common all over Japan, is probably a variation of the Dhyāna Mudrā.
7. **Nibbāna-Sayanam.** lit. 'Nirvana Sleeping.' *Position* :—Lying on right side with head resting on the right hand. In this position the Buddha died.

There is another form of lying attitude common in the colossal Buddhas in Burma, where the Buddha reclines on his arm, resting his head on his hand. It is called the 'Lion Attitude.'

A great deal of **fossilized wood** is found in the neighbourhood of Pagān. The grains and knots of the wood have been wonderfully preserved. In several of the pagodas logs of this fossilized wood have been used as beams over the door ways. Logs fifteen feet in length have been found in the Pakokku district. Near the Nāga Yon pagoda is a fossilized stump standing upright, apparently in its original position. The Burmese call this wood 'ain-gin pin,' and according to the Geological Survey it is six million years old. Occasionally such a log has a metallic sound, and is used as a pagoda gong.

Near **Mount Popa**, not far from Pagān, little white agates are found, whose markings look just like

a pagoda. There are a few in the Museum which are worth seeing. Mount Popa is said to be an extinct volcano. Thirty-five of the most important pagodas of Pagān are conserved by Government. More than one hundred others are protected.

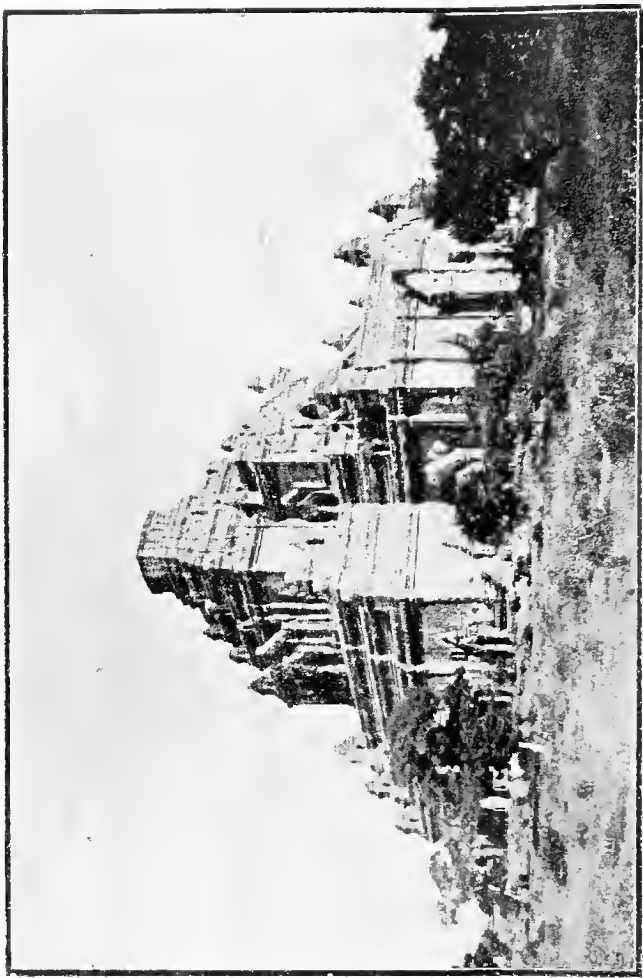
The **Damayain Gyi** has unfortunately not yet been repaired, but is to be soon. Its decay is rather far advanced. It is littered with fallen bricks, and is full of bats and owls, and no doubt of snakes too. It is a noble building, said to have been erected by the parricide King Narathu (1170 A. D.)<sup>1</sup> It is possible that next year fifteen thousand rupees may be set aside for the purpose of arresting its decay. Close to it is a fine Pagoda called the **Sula-muni** which is splendidly preserved, and which has some interesting paintings on its walls.

It takes fully three days to see only the most important pagodas in Pagān, and even then you must be content to pass by hundreds of interesting crumbling ruins unheeded. At first sight all the pagodas look more or less alike, but with a knowledge of their story, comes the power to differentiate one class from another. Pagān seems to stand for an emblem of ancient Buddhism itself. The litter of fallen, buried bricks illustrates forgotten generations, which, like Pagān, have obeyed the law of impermanence, and returned to dust, leaving behind them no intelligible trace. The ruined pagodas represent those derelict branches of the great Law which lie stranded and wrecked in various parts of the world, mere ghosts now of their former selves. But here and there rises

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1. See page 14.





UTHILO MINLO PAGODA, BUILT BY KING NAN TAUN MYA.

a Gaw-da-palin, or an Ananda, which, like the religion they adorn, are beautiful still, as when first created.

It is not possible here to mention any but the most important pagodas. Amongst these should be included the **Shwe San Daw Paya**, which is a very old and ruined pagoda whose squat, round shape suggests its Talaing origin. It is amongst the earliest pagodas built at Pagān. There is a colossal figure of a reclining Buddha in an out building near it. The **U Pali Thein** (half way between Nyaung-U and Pagān) is a beautiful little building, whose painted frescoes are in good preservation. As its name 'Thein' implies, it was an ordination hall, and it was called after U Pali, a disciple of the Buddha himself, who had a deep knowledge of the laws and rules of the Buddhist priesthood. Just opposite the U Pali Thein is a very massive and beautiful building called the **Htilo Minlo**, now much ruined. The name means *Hti* (umbrella) ; *lo* (wants) ; *Min* (kingship) ; *lo* (wants)—*i. e.* "Umbrella wants, king-ship wants." The reference is to King **Nan Taun Mya**, its builder, who apparently had an undue hankering for kingly power. His very name *Nan* (palace), *Taun* (asks), *Mya* (much) *i. e.* "Palace asks much," suggests how much his schemings were talked about. Nan Taun Mya did little else for Burma besides building a very fine pagoda. In the same vicinity, but nearer the Shwe-zigon, is an insignificant looking, but interesting ruin called **Kyanzittha's Onhmin**, or Kyanzittha's cave. It is a monastery dating from the 11th century, and is meant to represent the cave temples of India.

According to a note painted on the wall, it was repaired in the Burmese year 1170 by a priest. In official, or high flown documents, the **Burmese era** dates from the Nirvana (or death) of Buddha. But the era in common use is counted from a great eclipse in 638 A. D. So by adding 638 years to the date given in documents or inscriptions, you arrive at the corresponding year of the Christian era. Thus the repairs having occurred in the Burmese year is 1170, by adding 638, you get 1808, A. D. The original painted note has been obliterated by the P. W. D. who in a fit of zeal have replaced it by an inscription of their own. The greatest care has to be taken, in repairing these ancient buildings, to preserve the original work, and to defend them from the fanciful imagination of the man with a Government 'sealed pattern.' They have a love for reinforced concrete, which harmonises ill with ancient pagodas, and there is a tendency to mercilessly repair shrines until they are given the severe appearance of a modern kitchen. There are, however, men in the P. W. D. now, who are able to carry out conservation to the satisfaction of the Archæologist in charge.

There is a small group of pagodas near the Nyaung-U rest-house, which is rather interesting. **Kyauk Ku Onhmin**, about three miles up river from the Nyaung-U bungalow, is a cave temple, containing some statuary. But at least one of the passages which ran back into the cliff is fallen in, and blocked with débris. On the way to it are passed the **Sakya Muni** and the **Kondaw Gyi**, both dating from the end of the 12th century. Their

frescoes, now much damaged, represent scenes from the life of the Buddha, and also the five hundred and fifty Jātākas. The style of the wall paintings is suggestive of Ajunta. Water is illustrated by a series of over-lapping circles, an Indian convention which has found its way even to Japan. There are also **Kinaras** - the mythical man-headed bird of ancient India ; and the **Makāra**, a snake-like beast with an alligators head.

The **Makāra** is a mythical beast with whom every one in Burma is consciously or unconsciously familiar. He is seen as a balustrade on either side of steps leading up to *hpongyi kyaungs* (monasteries). He may have his alligator like head, or he may be simply shown in convention by the great flame shaped masses of brick work at the foot of the steps. The **Makāra** hangs as a streamer from tall poles in pagoda courts ; or is familiar as a curved bit of wood at the end of the shaft of bullock carts.

Other interesting mythical creatures are the **Ottasaun**, who having in their life-time as human beings, been unduly attached to worldly wealth, are re-incarnate as the guardian spirits of hidden treasure. They must guard the treasure until they can induce some one to find it in the correct way. With this intention they show the whereabouts of treasure to people by dreams. The dream must be received on three successive nights, and the dreamer must not breathe a word of it to anyone, or else the treasure is turned to charcoal when they come to search for it. It is rare for a man to hold his tongue for the three

nights, and still more rare for a woman, so that the unhappy Otta-saun is tied to the treasure for centuries. Most of the hidden treasures of Pagān must have been found by now, but it is a curious thing that up to the present no **coins** whatsoever, and no weapons, have been found in the vicinity. As a matter of fact coins are rarely found anywhere in Burma. It is not certain how money circulated during the Pagān period. The only money transaction I know of, mentioned in the inscriptions, is the sale of a certain jewel by the captive king **Manuha**, for " six carts of treasure."

The handsome squat dome of the **Shwe-zigon** Pagoda may be taken as a typical instance of the Talaing type of the 11th century.<sup>1</sup> It was building between 1086 and 1090 A. D. It is still handsome, and in everyday use with the people of Nyaung-U. There is a festival held there every year at the November full moon. A flash of light is said to enter the pagoda every third year. As elsewhere mentioned, there are two statues of Sivā at the East gate ; the convex shaped brick buildings within its enclosure are purely Nepaulese ; and in one corner there are some 33 nats, kept by an old woman. In the same shed is an antique wooden figure, eight feet high, now called a nat, but which was obviously originally a Bodhisattva. One of the approaches to the pagoda is a paved corridor more than half a mile long.

There are at present two rival schools of thought with reference to the importance of Chinese influence on Pagān. One school denies that that



influence was very great. The other, supported notably by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, considers that Chinese influence was very strong indeed, and that Burma owes its first knowledge of Buddhism, (and also its pagodas) to China. The opinion of so experienced a scholar as Mr. Taw Sein Ko is not lightly to be disregarded, though it is not that held by other authorities. He points out that the Chinese invasion by the armies of Kublai Khan was not the only one. There were invasions in 108 B. C. and 264 A. D. which are mentioned in both the Chinese and Burmese records. For fifty years after the invasion by Kublai Khan's army in 1284 A. D., the princes (or "Comforters") left behind acknowledged the suzerainty of China. He mentions in his 'Burmese Sketches' that the first form of Buddhism known in Burma was the *Mahāyana*, or Northern Buddhism, which was introduced into this country in the 4th century A. D. This Northern Buddhism resulted from the fourth Buddhist Council held under Kanishka, the Kushan King of Gandhāra. Its language is Sanskrit. It was introduced into China in 67 A. D. when its scriptures were translated into Chinese. The language of *Hinayana*, or Southern Buddhism (the present Buddhism of Burma), is Pali. Mr. Taw Sein Ko points out that it is extremely significant that Burma of the Pali literature should have borrowed sacred terms from China, as she undoubtedly has done. The Burmese words *Phaya* (Buddha): *Sangha* (Assembly): *Neikban* (Nirvana): *Pu-t'o* (Pagoda): *Kyaung* (Monastery): *Shan* or *Shin* (A Novice): *Hlu* (to give Charity): and *Shiko* (to worship) are not Pali or even Sanskrit,

but are derived respectively from the Chinese words *Ju-ya*: *Sengchia*: *Niek-p'an*: *Ju-lo*: *Kung*: *Shang-jên*: *lu*: and *Shih-k'ao*. Further the Burmese word for a rosary *Pu-ti-si* (pronounced *Ba-di-zi*), is derived from the Chinese *P'u-t'i-tzu*, while there is no mention of a rosary made at all in the *Tripitaka* of either the Northern or Southern schools. *Mahāyana* Buddhism was not finally displaced until the reign of Anawrata in the 11th century, when, as already mentioned, the celebrated priest Shin Arakan came from Thaton and taught the Southern Buddhism now found in Burma.

According to the Journal (December 1911) of the Burma Research Society, **Chinese influence** in the Shwe-zigon, is indicated notably by the brick concave buildings in the pagoda court, which are said to be similar to ones in Pekin. The bells round the necks of the great 'chin-the,' or lions, are also claimed to be Chinese.

The arguments of the school which claims that Indian influence is paramount are, however, generally accepted as convincing. M. Duroiselle does not believe that the Chinese influence is really very strong in the Shwe-zigon. The pagoda itself is plainly Talaing, and moreover was built two centuries before **Kublai Khan's** army invaded Pagān in 1284 A. D. The concave brick buildings, he points out, are not Chinese at all, but pure Nepaulese. The lions at the entrance, if they show Chinese influence, must have been built long after the pagoda; and moreover the bells hanging from their necks have clappers, which as a rule Chinese bells have not.



GENERAL ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY ROUND PAGAN



In fact 'Chinese influence' seems to be a little overdone. Pagān was influenced comparatively little by China. It was inspired chiefly by India.

Where the best authorities differ so widely it is difficult to arrive at an exact conclusion. The good evidence which each side produces, justifies the opinion that both schools are correct in the main. Chinese influence has no doubt been strong enough to leave its mark even on the language; while the civilization of India, reaching Pagān chiefly through Thaton, has impressed itself indelibly upon Burmese architecture.

The Shwe-zigon was intended to enshrine the forehead bone of Buddha, said to have been deposited by King Dwuttabaung at Tharekhettara. The pagoda in which the relic was supposed to rest was pulled down by Anawrata, but the bone could not be found. <sup>1</sup>

The Shwe-zigon was seriously damaged in A.D. 1768 by an earthquake. As a Chinese invasion was then threatened, the affair was believed to be an evil omen, and the pagoda was lavishly repaired.

The dome of the Shwe-zigon is still gilded and looks very imposing from a distance. Lions heads, with beads hanging from their mouths are used as decorations round the dome. It is a design very often found in Burmese pagodas, and is of exceptional interest, since the beads are derived from ancient Greece. It is a relic of **Greek influence**, brought to India by the Armies of Alexander the Great, which impregnated and inspired the school of Northern India,

which we now call Gandhāra, or Greco-Buddhist. It influenced architecture and statuary alike. Until the rise of the Gandhāra school, there was no such thing as a statue of the Buddha. He was represented by the conventional sign of a wheel, or an empty throne. The Buddha figure which we see about us all over Burma, and throughout Asia, was invented in North West India during the three centuries following Alexander's invasion. It was the result of intense religious emotion, and if that type has paralyzed the sculptor's imagination for two thousand years, at least it may be said to be a beautiful and a lofty type.

The last historical incident that occurred at Pagān was a battle fought on the 8th February 1826 amongst its pagodas between the British, under General Sir Archibald Campbell, and the army of Hpagyidoo, King of Ava. It was the last engagement of the war which had begun in 1824. Shortly afterwards a treaty was signed ceding Assam, Arakan and part of Tenasserim to the British.

**Pagoda building** is certainly a national vice with the Burmese. But it is a vice one is very ready to forgive, especially in the quiet evening time, when there is a sound of gongs and bells in the air. What would Burma be without its pagodas, and without the sound of bells? Still, there are cases where the indulgence has been carried to extremes; and the extreme of anything is vicious. Pagān is an instance. Think of the toil and misery its building must have involved. The Mingūn Paya near Mandalay is another case. It was built for no other

purpose than that it should be the largest bit of masonry in the world. It still is that, though now split and riven by earthquakes. The Yankin-taung Paya, started by King Mindon Min, rivals all others as a monument of self pride. French Engineers calculated that five thousand men working daily, could not finish it in less than 84 years. Canals were dug to the quarries. A whole hill was cut up into blocks and dressed. After four years labour, the base was only four feet high. Then Mindon Min died, and Theebaw wisely abandoned the work. The canals have silted up, the loaded boats sunk, and the country side is littered still with a chaos of stone.

There is hardly a single pagoda in Pagān which has not been attacked by **treasure hunters**. The thieves apparently knew exactly where to dig for the relic chambers, and a shaft has been driven into the base of the dome of nearly every building. The heads of the great Buddhas have been broken open, and the breast (or rather the pit of the stomach) torn out, in the search for the jewels deposited in the Buddha's body. Richer pagoda builders were in the habit of burying dozens of little gold and silver images; which represented a good deal of money. The bone relics of course had no value. Capt. Cox, who was present at the sealing up of the Mingun Pagoda relic chamber, tells us that amongst other treasures, a soda water machine was buried in it. But from the persistence with which the search was carried on in Pagān, one may judge

that it was a lucrative occupation. Besides the assaults of thieves, Pagān has suffered from spoilation by soldiers of invading armies, who did not hesitate to remove any valuable relics they could dig out, though, being themselves Buddhists, they did not actually destroy the buildings.

Pagān is still a rich field for exploration. What wonderful memories its crumbling old pagodas awaken ; what pictures of tragedy, murder and misery ; what scenes of pageantry, triumph and attainment. In its day, this small bit of classic ground was spoken of with admiration from Pekin to Venice. Now its glory has departed, and there is nothing left of man's ambition but miles of crumbling ruins. Surely, few landscapes have been more strongly marked by man. It still presents a sea of spires. The very dust of Pagān is brick. Its brilliant history extends over only 250 years, but during that period Burma emerged from barbarism, and attained a highly developed civilization.

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## PAGĀN LACQUER WORK.

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The lacquer work of Pagān is rather attractive. Cups and dishes and boxes are made of fine wicker work, over which vegetable oil and a sort of clay are laid. The oil is procured from Yunnan and from the Shan States.

Each different colour of the design is laid on separately. Suppose it is decided to do the red parts first. All lines and figures and flowers which are to be red are scratched on to the lacquer with a pin, knife or compass. The red colour is now smeared over the surface, and is then all removed again by polishing. But the red which has sunk into the scratchings cannot be polished off, and so remains. Yellow, gold, mauve and green are laid on in turn in the same way, so that what looks like a laboriously painted picture, is really coloured by smearing, in a few seconds. The tools used for scratching the designs are extraordinarily primitive.

But though each separate process is in itself so rapid, it requires six months to turn out a cheap cup, finished and ready for use. The lacquer takes a long while to dry, and has to be kept in a cool, underground room for a certain period. All sorts of articles are made ; but cups, plates and boxes have the best sale. A large portion of Pagān Village is employed in the industry. Even little children are skilful workers, and can fearlessly scratch out a delicate pattern or figure without the help of any

guiding lines. But the trade is no longer flourishing. People all up and down the river now buy cheap crockery or enamel ware, instead of lacquer.

The more expensive and delicate cups are made on a frame of horse hair, instead of wicker.

---

## LESSON AND LEGEND OF THE PAGODA

The *payās* shape was fashioned by  
The Buddha's own right hand.  
He gave eight hairs as relics to  
The men from Burma's land.\*  
They built the Shwe Dagon forthwith,  
Which Buddha thus had planned.

Square folded he his yellow robe  
And laid it on the ground.  
His begging bowl he placed on that,  
Shaped like a burial mound.  
Then this—the first pagoda—with  
His own tall staff he crowned.

Mount Meru stands on terraces  
Square, and in number five.  
The steps at the pagoda's base  
Their number thus derive.  
And men, to show the symbol 'Earth,'  
An octagon contrive.

Each section of the *paya*'s lines  
Recalls some myth of ancient times.  
Some say its origin is found  
In India's ancient burial mound.

The spire, like Buddha's palace roofs,  
Has rings five, nine and seven.<sup>1</sup>  
Above the dome a circle is—  
The Chinese symbol 'Heaven';  
The place where now Maitreya<sup>2</sup> waits  
Called the Tushitā Heaven.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. See page 22. Note 2.

2. Maitreya is the fifth and last Buddha, the Buddha yet to come. He will appear in the West about five thousand years after the passing of the Gautama Buddha. Until that time, he remains in the Tushita Heaven. His mission in the world will be to preach the Law as it applies to changed conditions.

3. See page 21. Niche 6.

\* The men to whom the Buddha gave hairs were Tapusa and Palikat

Pagodas over half the world  
Display this mystic plan—  
In Burma, and in China, and  
Ceylon, India, Japan.  
The roads to Lhasa and Leh  
Are lined with *payas* all the way.

Perched high on pass and precipice,  
Their ruined brick work teaches this—:  
“ Men’s proudest works will pass away  
All things are subject to decay.”

---

## THE LIFE HISTORY OF A BURMESE PAGODA.

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Long ago a bright pagoda  
 Stood beyond the village fence  
 Where the people toiled and laboured,  
 Cutting back the jungle dense.

Brightly flashed its golden spire,  
 Fragrant lime and orchid smells  
 Wafted on the breeze, which tinkled  
 Melodies from swinging bells.

Every morning dainty women  
 Silken clad, with faces white,<sup>1</sup>  
 Followed by a small attendant,  
 Offered gifts and flowers bright.

Every evening candles glittered,  
 Brightly burning for a space,  
 Casting fitful light and shadow  
 O'er the Buddha's quiet face.

\*

\*

\*

The years march along bringing change in their wake.  
 Those women, once lovely, are wrinkled and grey.  
 No longer sweet melodies passing winds make ;  
 The bells from the spire have fallen away.

No candles are lit in the *paya* at night.  
 The walls of the altar are smoky and black.  
 The gleam of the gilding is no longer bright.  
 A *peepal* has sprung from an ominous crack.

Moss has grown up on the pavement of stone,  
 Lichen has rusted the lion's limbs grey.  
 Buddha, impassive, now sits all alone,  
 Quietly watching the steady decay.

\*

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1. Burmese women powder their faces when dressed for a visit to the pagoda.

Two centuries—the shrine is hidden deep.  
Destruction comes, according to the Law.  
Amidst the jungle growth the lions keep  
Intruders from the now forbidden door.

Impassive, calm, the Buddha ponders still,  
Regardless of the ruin all around :  
Watching his lions heave and sink until  
They tumble down, and break upon the ground.

Nature has spread green moss and graceful ferns  
Over the pavement where once women stood.  
A hamadrayad lifts his hood and turns  
Trailing his gleaming coils before the Budh.

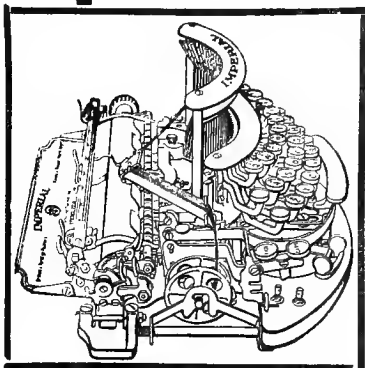
No man may enter now to that lost site.  
The path is thickly closed with creeper trails.  
At night the fire flies, with passion bright,  
Consume themselves upon the altar rails.

---



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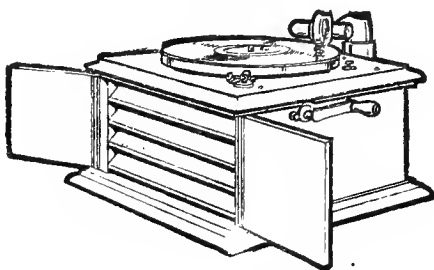
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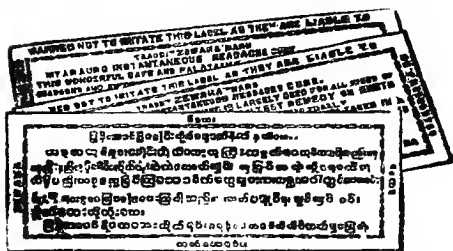


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This Balm is prepared with the most expensive, effective and harmless drugs. One application of our Zewaka Balm will be several times more effective than other cheap Balm sold in the market. It is prepared not to be cheap but to cure the above complaints.

Price Re. 1 per Opal Pot.

## 'Zewaka' Instantaneous Headache Cure.



This wonderful medicine, if taken in a little water, acts like a charm in giving instant relief to the sufferer. It is sweet and palatable and is put up in packets containing

one dose in each with directions. This medicine is popularly priced to be within the reach of all. Every one who has used it has fully admitted its high efficacy. No headache curing medicine has ever attained so wide a popularity and gained the confidence of the general public in India, Burma and Ceylon.

All orders however small will be executed by V. P. P.

The Burmans call this medicine a charm.

**Price Re. 1 per one-dozen packets.**

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